2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aisa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witbois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Oriams by the indigenous people, a name the origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Oriams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //oin*), the Witbooi (*/Hoberew*), the Bethany Hottentots (*!Aman*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauan*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauan*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauan* from the personal name, */Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hoberew*, from */hobe* or */heue*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

The indigenous people were in historical times divided into seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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Nama

Namaquas.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even among themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Namas has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[41]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 26, 1661, and returned on March 16. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 48-63.

[42]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

B: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, kakoo means "sit down"; hra, an ox; ha, a sheep; and kurt, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Gorinhaiquas and Gorinhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

Trade.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Janss. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[*]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two oxen for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

The principal wealth of the Kaffirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[**]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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*) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck* van *Willem Lodewyckss*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

**) Sic. Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 22).

8: Fourie D-S (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Ovahimpolovold. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- 101
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among 131
them are included the *!Kulwe* or *‡Ao-//ke* in the south
between Sandfontein and *!Gam*, the *Sro-‡gnami* to the north-
east and the *‡Kieng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the 101
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the 131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grout- 177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [176]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now
extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the
greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland.
Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [177]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their
own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in
the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original
organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups
living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely
influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland
they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga*; in north-
western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen
but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Waleddi* or
Ovaleddi. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovaleddi*, especially the [182]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the Ovambo through
intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [178]
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovaleddi*, on the other [179]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have
a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the
banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo
Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in
contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north
with the Ovambo and to the east with *!Kung* of the Ovahim-
polovold or southern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remain-
ing portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts
of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and
are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip
Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture.
In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also
as the *Nama* or *Kalaxa* Bushmen on account of the extent to
which they have intermixed with these races and the neighbour-
ing tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the 101
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have 131.
survived. The *!Grinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and
Conception Bay, the *//Ghanen* of the Huns Mountains, and
the *!Kone-on* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have dis-
appeared completely. The *!Huinin* are represented by a few
groups at the southern extremity of the *!Huib* plateau
and adjacent part of the Namib. The *!Ganin* of the Nauw-
kloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[97] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early
thirties and had been working for some time for European
farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[345] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage
was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of
the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather
unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own coun-
try, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from
his own people, I asked him where he had come from and
how he had learned Afrikaans.

[53] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have
[197] been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the
same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
288 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Tema, pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Tema remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said.

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

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/260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tscha	tscha	Khoib
Man	tscha n|á (|a = männlich)*	tscha n|a	áob
Woman	tsee	tschaa	taráa
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsesma	daba tschaama	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gaoab
My brother	mí tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsaa tang	tsaa tang	|gaa
Father	ombá	ombá	daddáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|á (n|a = alt)**	omba n|a	aóda
Grandmother	tschaa |á	tschee |á	aómama
Master	gaacha	gaacha	gíob
Captain of a settlement	tscha gaacha	tscha gaacha	—
Servant	ǂái	tscha nǂoa	|ái
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damára
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"